

/41 cont./

292 In more than one village I saw that the crosses used by the
978 doctor-sorcerers during the religious dances are clothed in the
[177] ponchito, a fact for which I have not found a satisfactory explanation. Perhaps there is influence from the stole of Paraguay and many regions of rural Brazil, common on the crosses of the Kayová and Nandéva graves of southern Mato Grosso. Or is the idea of a personification of the cross linked to this ponchito?

291 /42/ But, aside from the ponchito, the Kayová are also familiar with the common poncho. The handsome red woolen poncho of industrial manufacture -- the pñe or pñe of the rural populations of Paraguay and even of southern Mato Grosso -- is one of the great aspirations of every Kayová, but inaccessible for his purse (it costs about four hundred cruzados). In the village of

[192] Dourados there were two Kayová who possessed a poncho made from sheep wool (ovino lana), both made by women of the tribe. The larger one measures two meters long and 90 centimeters wide, being provided with fringes on the narrow sides; it is made of coarse threads of grayish wool and on each side has two dark bands very close to each other, which give it a very distinctive touch. The poncho belonged to the chief of the post, who

[428] had inherited it from his father. The second specimen is much smaller: it is barely 110 centimeters in length, with an average width of about 75 centimeters; it is also of grayish wool, having in the central part a dark stripe of about 25 centimeters. The Indians told me that in both ponchos the light wool as well as the dark is of natural color. Woolen ponchos also occur among the Chaco Indians.

[192] A complementary piece of male Kayová garb, although of much more recent origin, is the aparejo (corruption of "alpargata"), a sandal of leather with rubber soles, which the men make from automobile tires. A good present for a Kayová is a pair of soles of this material, for the aparejo, in general use among the yerba-maté workers of the region, is very suitable for working with heavy burdens on the damp and slippery ground of the yerbales. It is to be noted that the yerba-maté worker carries on his shoulders up to thirty Paraguayan aretes or three-handed knives of

/104 cont./

624 sometimes exploits his fellow villagers, forcing /105/ them to
554 work in his clearing as punishment when they become intoxicated
622 or caused some disorder. In the majority, the religious chiefs do
554 not have a very well developed economic sense; I know only one
756 Kayová who had enough skill and interest to draw material ad-
vantages from his position as charismatic chief, Paí José Bourbon
Catalan of Amambai. But he, too, exploited his position of paí
less than the profession of curer, which he practiced with excep-
tional efficiency, judging by the fame that attracted Indians,
mestizos, and even white fazendeiros /owners of fazendas/ from
distant places. He told me he charged up to sixty cruzeiros per
session, or, as we would say, consultation. It is customary, by
the way, among Indians, as among civilized persons, from
[435] southern Mato Grosso and other regions to take some gift to the
[465] curer or doctor-sorcerer in payment for his services. Among the
[171] Guaraní this pattern is not very widespread. /The notes for Ch.
[184] VII appear on pp. 105-106 in the original source./

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CAYUÁ CULTURE CHANGE

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not often made for sale, except upon specific order of some white. It is different with winnowing trays or strainers. All Brazilian households in the neighborhood, as well as those of the indigenes, pound their corn in wooden mortars and require these trays to sift fine corn from the coarser which needs more pounding. There is usually a well understood idea of price, according to the size and workmanship of the tray. Some Cayuá men consequently make them to be offered for sale or barter either directly to the settlers, or to the *beliches* which may keep a small stock of trays on hand. This is a fairly durable article, however, so the extent of their use does not necessarily imply a large volume of production. Specialization in the manufacture of strainers has already been mentioned.

Considered as a whole, however, the trade of Cayuá products to white settlers or to the *beliches* is both a much smaller and less regular avenue of commercial relations with the outside than the *cheaps*. The Cayuá is less sure of having both saleable merchandise and buyers for it than he is of having a demand for his labor. His labor is consumed in larger quantities, usually, than his products and hence ultimately provides him a larger part of the trade goods he requires. Furthermore, not every able-bodied Cayuá can make the winnowing trays, nor can their wives all make hammocks, and some do not seem able or interested in producing any surplus of agricultural products for barter. Cayuá production for barter or sale in most cases could best be described as only haphazard or casual. All those who receive more income from trade in Cayuá products than from *cheaps* are either non-peons or work very little in *cheaps*.

Economic exchange of the Cayuá of Taquapiri, both outside the village and internally, falls under the headings of "pure barter" and "money barter." Pure barter is the exchange of goods for goods without reference to a common standard of value. Money barter, hence, is the exchange of goods for goods (and presumably also services for goods) in which there is a single general and uniform measure of value, money. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians in trade and *cheaps*, the Cayuá are now acquainted with an accepted money value of many of the commodities as well as the services they exchange. A sack of corn (sixty-four ears) is worth so much in money; to clear a *pequeiro* (roughly a quarter of an alqueire, the latter an area of 24,000 square meters) of relatively clean second growth (*capoeira* in Portuguese) is worth so many *reals*; a winnowing tray of good manufacture and a given size is worth so much; and so

other people of eastern South America, and this trait, along with a number of others, is an argument for the northern or equatorial provenience of the Guarani speakers of the south of Brazil and of Paraguay. In the north of Brazil, the hammock is in many places considered by Brazilians as a regular piece of sleeping equipment, and certain hammocks are manufactured commercially for sale, especially in the states of Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte. Many beds in the North are equipped with permanent ladders to the walls so that the guest can climb the hammock instead of taking the bed, if he wishes.

- 648 forth. In each case, the "price" is what the Cayuá knows the settler will
 437 ordinarily pay for the goods or services in question. Rather seldom, however,
 • 435 are the services or goods paid for in actual money. In fact, the Cayuá has very
 little need for money; he almost always works for limited, specific goods for
 immediate needs, a certain amount of cloth (as much as he requires for himself
 or his family), a hoe, a kilo of salt, a bar of soap, or a number of these things at
 once. These are his needs for a given period, usually no more than a season or
 two at a time. He does not save money or keep trade goods far ahead of his
 need for them. But in a large number of dealings with the Neo-Brazilian,
 money is now the measure used to decide whether the Cayuá will be satisfied,
 for instance, with the number of meters of cloth the *paíde* is offering for doing
 the specified amount of *chango* under discussion. The work is worth so much
 money; the cloth is worth so much money. Are they nearly equivalent?

There is nowadays much discussion of prices among the Cayuá themselves, how much a certain *paíde* pays per unit area, and how much so-and-so sold his corn for, how much ordinary cloth is costing per meter, and other such prices. These prices must necessarily be discussed in terms of money (either Brazilian or Paraguayan), even though most Cayuá rarely obtain trade goods or sell their own goods for actual money. This price concept, related to a money standard, is largely a result of dealings with Neo-Brazilians, and the Cayuá application of the concept to goods and services, therefore, so far tends to be limited to negotiations on the outside. When Cayuá negotiations with Cayuá are for the same goods or services as occur in arrangements on the outside, the price concept may also, naturally, be applied. But when other goods or services are in question, which are not involved in outside dealings, it is less likely that the money standard will be applied among Cayuá, or it will be applied hesitatingly and with uncertainty on both sides. However, enough goods and services are now appraised in terms of money that other goods and services, not ordinarily thought of in this way, can also sometimes be priced and evaluated by comparison.

- 437 As Graess points out, the four types of exchange he distinguishes, gift economy, gift barter, pure barter, and money barter, are not mutually exclusive.¹⁰ We need not, therefore, be surprised to learn that the exchange of goods among Cayuá does not always conform to the money barter type. Cayuá examples of all the above types of exchange of goods and services could probably be cited (but will not be here since they do not seem related to acculturation). Summing up, then, the type of exchange termed by Graess "money barter," which certainly did not exist originally, now marks most of the economic relations of Cayuá with Brazilian settlers and also marks some of the exchange of goods and services among the Cayuá themselves.

suggestions of the extent to which the one may interfere with the other. This is tantamount to saying that *çangs* wage work may become an "alternative" (in Linton's sense) to home production—not merely, as it is at present, a somewhat optional adjunct, one possible means of acquiring desired trade goods. Whether the *çangs* is to become more of an alternative or more of a complementary form of production, practiced side by side with their own agriculture by the same individuals, remains to be seen.

At the present time, it is not possible—or, at least, easy—for a Cayuá to spend most of his productive energy working for the existing form of wages. For one thing, the man who now works "too much" in *çangs* does not produce certain necessary goods in sufficient quantity for himself. A number of new usages will be required before he is able to acquire these goods easily. For example, the exchange of money or trade goods for Cayuá goods—largely food-stuffs—must first become generally accepted. This means a regular market. That there is no dependable exchange of goods among the Cayuá at the present is actually one reason why the lot of the few who work extensively in *çangs* is not generally considered satisfactory.²⁰

The ultimate consequences of a wage-work alternative to Cayuá agriculture are of much significance. One conceivable result is deindustrialization, which might occur if the Cayuá came to form essentially a stratum of wage workers in the local Neo-Brazilian society. The eventual possibility, however, is only hinted at up to the present time.

II. B. a. "Division of labor by sex: men come to be more important in the work of agriculture."

By common-sense arrangement the heavy work of felling trees for a clearing was the men's share, but planting, weeding and harvesting were female tasks. . . . However, the major change, [from female to male labor in the lighter agricultural activities] generally occurred when agriculture became a people's principal pursuit so that hunting dropped out as an important occupation. Then the men transformed. . . .²¹

The general principle seems to apply to the changing sexual division of labor in Cayuá agriculture. In this sense, (II. A. a.) the increased role and importance of agriculture and (II. A. b.) the decreased importance of hunting are probably the principal factors responsible for the change to basically male labor in farming.

Exactly why this should be so is perhaps more difficult to argue; that is,

²⁰ It is also true that the rate of return for work performed, in terms of the ultimate needs of the Cayuá, is now less in the *çangs* than in Cayuá home production. They could not easily recognize the fact because of the present relative non-convertibility of one good into some preferred goods. II. B. g., the idea of price is grounded and of price for goods convertible is not becoming more a part of Cayuá economic thinking. But present transactions are still so small in scale that it is impossible for the Cayuá to have any idea of the total value of what they produce in *çangs* as compared to that produced in the same amount of time up in their own fields.

²¹ Lewis, 1936, p. 26.

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6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

A SOUTHERN MATO GROSSO TRIBE

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Cayua Peonage

In turning now to Cayua peonage, we should perhaps call to mind the remarks made earlier in this article regarding the practice of the Cayua to "changuear" for neighboring whites, that is to work for them for a few days or weeks, living in quarters provided by the patrão, or employer, eating (and paying for) the food he provides, and, finally, receiving goods, or sometimes money, in return for services rendered. Without considering all of the many possible aspects of this growing practice — a practice which could never have been present in Cayua culture until whites began to settle in considerable numbers in the area — we may mention a few of the less debatable influences exercised by the arrangement upon the economy and the economic ideas of the Cayua.

It is scarcely necessary to point out that this form of peonage provides the closest and most intense contact that yet exists between Cayua and non-Indians and that it involves only men. Thus, whatever ideas may enter Cayua culture by way of the peonage system will more than likely be introduced by the men. Apparently, a number of such ideas have entered and are still entering. Apart from the obvious effect of Cayua experiments with new plants in their roças, new agricultural techniques (possibly), and maybe even new or improved tools (although actually the local whites are just about as "backward" as the Indians, and their agriculture is clearly based in large part on that of the Indians), one of the most important influences of the peonage system on Cayua economy is the introduction of money or other exchange values with regard to Cayua goods and services, not only without Cayua society but also within.

From working for whites and for their own self-interest and protection, the Cayua who serve as peons have naturally developed a fairly clear idea of the conventional values in money or goods of their various services: a day's work, or more likely a given unit of service,²² is worth so much in sugar or cloth. If it is very "dirty", that is, if it requires considerable work to clean, it is worth more; if relatively "clean", not so much. The rate of payment for planting could also be different because the "service," or work involved, is

²² Such actual growth when a roça has been cut at least once before.

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241 different. And so on. Although estimating the value of services seems
 435 quite rude and approximate, the experienced peon is little likely to
 464 be cheated by his *patrão* — at that point in the arrangement, at least.
 465 Not only does the idea of payment for services emerge here, then, but
 648 also that of different values in keeping with different services.
 466 Nor is the payment of services the only value concept that the
 648 Cayua peons experience and carry back to their own society. While
 466 working for their *patrões*, who sometimes live at considerable distance
 197 from the home village, the peons' "board" is furnished by the *patrões*.
 (273) Excessive prices are often charged and other forms of cheating prac-
 tices, especially when the Indians have been made drunk from *pinga* "furnished (and charged for) by the *patrão*. But under normal circumstances predictable prices will prevail and also ones which are determined by "market influences" — alleged at least, if the "market" happens to be favorable to the *patrão*. A certain amount of dicker-
 ing always goes on. For example, if originally agreed that cloth would be received as payment for services and the peon later decides that he prefers meat, grease, or salt, a discussion with the *patrão* will probably ensue regarding what should be the respective amounts payable in these substitutes. Sooner or later the peon will come to know the relative money and barter values of almost all the staple, essential goods of the area, and if he receives his payment in money, he may even have occasion to try out his knowledge of prices in one of the general markets of the vicinity. There is, then, ample opportunity for the Cayua — even the non-peon sometimes — to become accustomed, not only to the general idea of placing values upon goods and services, but to thinking in terms of given values for given products and services.

197 The point, of course, is that at Taquary the notion of prices
 198 for goods and services, as well as the actual prevailing prices, have
 437 come to be associated with economic activities within Cayua society,
 438 as well as between Cayua and non-Cayua. Not only are some products
 of the Cayua now coming to be produced on a scale sufficient for
 a part of the crop to be sold for cash or bartered to non-Cayua, but
 the Cayua are also beginning to barter or sell products among them-
 selves, although still to a very limited extent. An example would be
 in a highly dramatic case of distilled, fermented cane juice. Very common
 to Brazil.